

# ACCULTURATING THE SHOPPING CENTRE



EDITED BY  
**JANINA GOSSEYE AND TOM AVERMAETE**

ROUTLEDGE



# Acculturating the Shopping Centre

*Acculturating the Shopping Centre* examines whether the shopping centre should be qualified as a global architectural type that effortlessly moves across national and cultural borders in the slipstream of neo-liberal globalization, or should instead be understood as a geographically and temporally bound expression of negotiations between mall developers (representatives of a global logic of capitalist accumulation) on the one hand, and local actors (architects/governments/citizens) on the other. It explores how the shopping centre adapts to new cultural contexts, and questions whether this commercial type has the capacity to disrupt or even amend the conditions that it encounters.

Including more than 50 illustrations, this book considers the evolving architecture of shopping centres. It would be beneficial to academics and students across a number of areas such as architecture, urban design, cultural geography and sociology.

**Janina Gosseye** is Senior Research Associate at ETH Zürich, Switzerland. Her research is situated at the nexus of architectural theory, urban planning and social and political history. Gosseye has edited and authored several books, including *Shopping Towns Europe 1945–75: Commercial Collectivity and the Architecture of the Shopping Centre* (2017, with Tom Avermaete). Her research has also been published in several leading journals, including the *Journal of Architecture* and the *Journal of Urban History*. In 2018, Gosseye was awarded a Graham Foundation Grant for her forthcoming book *Speaking of Buildings* (2019, with Naomi Stead and Deborah van der Plaet).

**Tom Avermaete** is Professor at ETH Zürich, Switzerland, where he is Chair for the History and Theory of Urban Design. Avermaete has a special research interest in the post-war public realm and the architecture of the city in Western and non-Western contexts. He is the author of *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (2005) and *Casablanca, Chandigarh: A Report on Modernization* (2014, with

Maristella Casciato). Avermaete has also edited numerous books, including *Shopping Towns Europe 1945–75: Commercial Collectivity and the Architecture of the Shopping Centre* (2017, with Janina Gosseye), and is a member of the editorial team of *OASE Architectural Journal* and the advisory board of the *Architectural Theory Review*, among others.

# Acculturating the Shopping Centre

Edited by  
Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete

First published 2019  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN  
and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Gosseye, Janina, editor. | Avermaete, Tom, editor.

Title: Acculturating the shopping centre / edited by Janina Gosseye and Tom

Avermaete.

Description: New York : Routledge, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018023217 | ISBN 9781472485045 (hardback) | ISBN

9781315584799 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Shopping centers. | Architecture and globalization. | Shopping centers--Social aspects.

Classification: LCC NA6218 .A29 2019 | DDC 725/.21--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018023217>

ISBN: 978-1-4724-8504-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-58479-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon

by Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	x
<b>Introduction</b>	
<b><i>A malleable type: acculturating the shopping centre</i></b>	<b>1</b>
JANINA GOSSEYE AND TOM AVERMAETE	
<b>1 Westfield's architecture, from the Antipodes to London</b>	<b>18</b>
SCOTT COLMAN	
<b>2 Eastern promises</b>	<b>38</b>
NICHOLAS JEWELL	
<b>3 The Latin American shopping centre: cultural translation, symbolic adaptation and typological evolution of commercial architecture in Latin American cities</b>	<b>64</b>
R. LILIANA DE SIMONE	
<b>4 El Helicoide: Venezuela's futuristic living ruin</b>	<b>91</b>
CELESTE OLALQUIAGA	
<b>5 A domesticated shopping mall in modern Tehran: the (re)development of Ekbatan</b>	<b>111</b>
RANA HABIBI	
<b>6 Re-centring Tema: from isotropic commercial centres to an intense infrastructure of street-vending</b>	<b>127</b>
VIVIANA D'AURIA	

vi *Contents*

7	The Boulevard Commercial Project in Manado, Indonesia: trickled-down globalization versus a catalysed super-local	147
	CYNTHIA SUSILO AND BRUNO DE MEULDER	

**Coda**

	The travelling type: how buildings and practices migrate across cultures	164
	TOM AVERMAETE AND JANINA GOSSEYE	

	<i>Index</i>	174
--	--------------	-----

# Figures

1.1	Frank Lowy's and John Saunders' Delicatessen opposite Blacktown Station.	19
1.2	Advertisement for Westfield Plaza, c. 1959.	21
1.3	E.G. Nemes, design for Westfield Hornsby, 1960.	23
1.4	Westfield Stratford City, opened 2011.	30
1.5	Design for Westfield Croydon.	33
2.1	Golden Mile, Singapore.	45
2.2	The Landmark, Hong Kong.	48
2.3	Beijing's impassable road network.	51
2.4	Xidan Joy City, Beijing.	52
2.5	The 'Crystal Lotus', Dongzhimen Raffles City, Beijing.	53
2.6	Elements, Kowloon.	55
2.7	Diagram of the three-dimensional movement patterns and tethers within the new breed of Chinese shopping malls.	56
2.8	South John Street, Liverpool One.	58
2.9	Mall atrium, Westfield London.	60
2.10	New 'grounds' creating urban stratification at Westfield Stratford, London.	61
3.1	Shopping mall domestication in Santiago de Chile. Street vendors at Mall Florida Centre surroundings, Santiago, Chile.	66
3.2	Shopping mall 'interior'. Urbanity perception and urban scenes in Plaza Vespucio Shopping Centre, Santiago, Chile.	69
3.3	Centro Comercial Las Mercedes by Don Hatch, 1956. Caracas, Venezuela.	73
3.4	Centro Comercial Plaza Del Sol, 1968, Guadalajara, México. Constitucional de Guadalajara, Jalisco México, n/d	77
3.5	Iguatemí Shopping Center in the Seventies.	77
3.6	Parque Arauco Shopping Centre in 1985 and in 2015.	82
3.7	Aerial view of Plaza Vespucio Shopping Centre in 1997 (left) and 2012 (right).	83
3.8	Map showing the current location of shopping malls in Santiago de Chile, superimposed on the plans prepared for	



	the city's planned sub-centrality areas in 1960 (PRIS, left) and 1992 (PRMS, right).	84
3.9	Mall Paseo Chiloé, 2015.	86
4.1	El Helicoide de la Roca Tarpeya, model (1956).	92
4.2	Interior of El Helicoide.	94
4.3	Plano de Caracas (1956).	96
4.4	A razed Roca Tarpeya seen from the south.	97
4.5	El Helicoide promotional ink holder, c. 1959.	98
4.6	El Helicoide in abandon.	99
4.7	El Helicoide's ramps lined with container homes (1982).	102
4.8	El Helicoide, view from the south.	105
4.9	Middle level of El Helicoide.	105
4.10	El Helicoide and the neighboring slums.	106
5.1a and 5.1b	Tehran Comprehensive Plan 1966.	114
5.2	The department stores located at the heart of Tehran's new neighbourhoods, as shown in the Tehran Comprehensive Plan (1966), resemble the shopping-mall-induced urban decentralisation that Gruen had proposed for cities in the US.	115
5.3	The Comprehensive Plan (1966) introduced the tower block as a new residential typology in Tehran, and also created new highways and green park-ways.	116
5.4	Ekbatan's Residential Complex: phase 2 is located on the left hand side of the plan; phases 1 and 3 are located on the right hand side.	119
5.5	Phase 1 and 3 of Ekbatan, on the right hand side, consisted of a double row of apartment buildings that are U-shaped in plan. The composition of Phase 2, on the left hand side, is an incomplete Y-shape.	121
5.6	A school in Ekbatan's residential complex.	122
5.7	Underground parking spaces under the complex's linear spine encourages residents to traverse the shopping centre.	123
5.8	Two distinct interpretations of a 'shopping centre' exist in Ekbatan.	124
6.1	The tree deity of Teshie in the heart of Tema New Town's intended city core, dominating over the derelict spaces of the Meridian Hotel.	129
6.2	The growing centres of the Accra-Tema Metropolitan Area and an early DA proposal for the Tema Town Centre combining a growing spine with the main heart of the city, 1961.	134
6.3	The distribution of commercial centres in Tema, 1962.	136
6.4	Sketch layout of the neighbourhood centre with typical allocation of functions in Community Class IV, 1962	138
6.5	Comparison of initial and final proposals of the Main Tema Town Centre, 1960; 1962.	140

6.6	Night view of the vibrant use of open spaces along the main infrastructure lines of Tema, and their association with an intense system of street-vending.	143
6.7	View of the main hotel and pedestrian mall, 1962.	144
6.8	Night view of one of the many stalls which through time have subverted Doxiadis' intentions benefitting from road-based movement rather than from being positioned at the heart of pedestrian-only neighbourhood centres.	145
7.1	Map showing the location of the first two shopping malls of the BCP – the Megamal and the Mantos – where the observations took place. The design of the Megamal adopts the typical design of the first generation of Jakarta's shopping mall. Similarly, the concept of the Mantos Mall is a direct copy of Jakarta's Citos Mall.	149
7.2	The maps and the sections of the Megamal and the Mantos Mall.	151
7.3	The daily scenes of the BCP shopping malls as places for regular daily visits. Still in casual clothes or in uniforms, ordinary kampong residents, office workers and students go to the malls from late afternoon (left). At the weekend, more visitors treat the BCP malls as extraordinary places. The restaurant/cafe facilities of the BCP malls attract people to engage in social activities (right).	153
7.4	The political party employs the space of the shopping mall to conduct campaigns and social activities. In order to gain wider public sympathy, the local branch of Partai Amanah Nasional (PAN) organized a social-religious gathering with orphanage Muslim of Manado in Mantos mall during the month of <i>Ramadhan</i> . The mall's hypermarket provided the background for these activities.	157
7.5	The role of the shopping malls in the BCP resembles the role of a town hall. Even official school competitions take place at the atrium of the BCP shopping mall.	158
7.6	The outdoor space of the mall attracts activities initiated by immediate communities and the city. Public activity such as the city's official New Year's event (right) were moved to the BCP area in 2010.	161

# Contributors

**Tom Avermaete** is Professor at ETH Zürich, where he is Chair for the History and Theory of Urban Design. Avermaete has a special research interest in the post-war public realm and the architecture of the city in Western and non-Western contexts. He is the author of *Another Modern: The Post-War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (2005) and *Casablanca, Chandigarh: A Report on Modernization* (2014, with Maristella Casciato). Avermaete has also edited numerous books, including *Shopping Towns Europe 1945–75: Commercial Collectivity and the Architecture of the Shopping Centre* (2017, with Janina Gosseye), and is a member of the editorial team of *OASE Architectural Journal* and the advisory board of the *Architectural Theory Review*, among others.

**Scott Colman** is an architectural historian, theorist, critic and designer, committed to these activities as implicated pursuits. Colman is the author of numerous book chapters and essays on modern and contemporary architecture and urbanism. He is an Assistant Professor at the Rice University School of Architecture where he directs the M.Arch. Design Thesis program and teaches courses in architectural history, theory and design.

**Viviana d’Auria** is Assistant Professor of International Urbanism at the Department of Architecture, University of Leuven (Belgium). Exploring ‘practised’ architecture is an integral part of her research within a more general interest in the transcultural construction of cities and their contested spaces.

**Bruno De Meulder** is Professor of Urbanism at the Department of Architecture, University of Leuven (Belgium). He is programme director of the Master of Human Settlements (MaHS) and the Master of Urbanism and Strategic Planning (MaUSP). His work focuses on socio-ecological issues and forms of dispersed urbanism in what Dennis Cosgrove has labelled ‘promiscuous territories’. De Meulder is also co-editor of the book series *UFO: Explorations of Urbanism*, which is published by Park Books (Zürich) and he regularly publishes on issues of urbanism in the post-industrial and postcolonial era.

**Liliana De Simone** is an urban studies scholar. She has a PhD in Architecture and Urban Studies. De Simone is currently an Assistant Professor at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, and has been a Visiting Professor at the Institute of Urban and Regional Design IURD at the University of California, Berkeley. De Simone has published several books and articles on urbanism and consumer culture. Recent publications include *Metamall: Espacio Urbano y Consumo Space and Consumption in Chilean Cities* (2015) and *30 Years of Shopping in Chile* (2013). At the Universidad Católica de Chile, De Simone coordinates the ‘Consumption, Culture and Society Studies Academic Network’ (RECCON).

**Janina Gosseye** is a senior research associate at ETH Zürich. Her research is situated at the nexus of architectural theory, urban planning and social and political history. Gosseye has edited and authored several books, including *Shopping Towns Europe 1945–75: Commercial Collectivity and the Architecture of the Shopping Centre* (2017, with Tom Avermaete). Her research has also been published in several leading journals, including the *Journal of Architecture* and the *Journal of Urban History*. In 2018, Gosseye was awarded a Graham Foundation Grant for her forthcoming book *Speaking of Buildings* (2019, with Naomi Stead and Deborah van der Plaats).

**Rana Habibi** received her PhD in architecture from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KU Leuven) in Belgium. She is a scholar of urban design, whose research is situated at the nexus of architectural theory, modernity, vernacular urbanism, and landscape architecture. Rana currently works as an urban designer and independent scholar in Brussels. She has authored several book chapters, including *The Routledge Companion to Modernity, Space and Gender* (2018, edited by Alexandra Staub) and *Urban Change in Iran* (2016, edited by F.F. Arefian & S.H.I. Moeini). Her research has also been published in several leading journals, including the *Journal of Cities*.

**Nicholas Jewell** is a practising architect and academic in London, whose research explores the architectural and socio-cultural relationships between consumption, infrastructure and large scale urban planning. His book *Shopping Malls and Public Space in Modern China* was published by Routledge in 2015. Jewell has lectured widely on the subject of shopping malls and contributed to a number of books and leading academic journals, including the *ARENA Journal of Architectural Research* and the *Journal of Architecture*.

**Celeste Olalquiaga** is a cultural historian whose work focuses on the contradictions and leftovers of modernity. Her books *Megalopolis* (1992) and *The Artificial Kingdom* (1998) have been translated into several languages. In 2013 Olalquiaga founded PROYECTO HELICOIDE, a project dedicated to El Helicoide de la Roca Tarpeya, in Caracas

(Venezuela), which has resulted in several award-winning exhibitions and also the publication of *Downward Spiral: El Helicoide's Descent from Mall to Prison* (2018, with Lisa Blackmore). Olalquiaga has been awarded fellowships from the Guggenheim and Rockefeller Foundations, as well as The Clark Art Institute.

**Cynthia Ratih Susilo** is an independent researcher for the Habitus Platform Initiative, who obtained her PhD from the University of Leuven (Belgium). Susilo's research focuses on the production of public and collective spaces in Asian cities, the postcolonial urbanisms of Southeast Asian cities, land grabbing and housing issues in post-disaster conditions, and the rural-urban development of eastern Indonesian cities. She has authored several book chapters and journal publications on these topics, both in Indonesia and internationally.

# Introduction

## A malleable type: acculturating the shopping centre

*Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete*

Carol ran away from home at seventeen and hitched across the country to California, then back again, and down the East Coast to Florida. [...] She went to malls for shelter from the storms, the heat and cold that batter the carless voyager; she accompanied friends she visited to their local malls for shopping and entertainment (people, she said, like to show off their new malls as points of local pride); or she simply wandered around in malls on her own when she was broke or blue or when she just felt like walking and watching the promenade of strangers while meditatively munching on an ice-cream cone.

William Severini Kowinski, *The Malling of America* (1985), 19–20

Peppered with personal impressions, experiences and memories, William Severini Kowinski's *The Malling of America* narrates the intricate entanglement of Americans' lives with the shopping centre. Not surprisingly, Kowinski authored this ficto-critical book in the early 1980s, which was a high time for the American shopping centre.<sup>1</sup> By then, for many Americans, the shopping centre had become part and parcel of everyday life. It not only played a prominent role in country's physical, economic and social ecologies but, featured in American novels,<sup>2</sup> music<sup>3</sup> and films,<sup>4</sup> it was also deeply engrained in its cultural landscape.

The shopping centre started its advance through the United States in the mid-twentieth century. In 1956 Southdale shopping centre opened in Edina,

1 Steven Kurutz, 'An Ode to Shopping Malls', *The New York Times*, 26 July 2017, [www.nytimes.com/2017/07/26/fashion/an-ode-to-shopping-malls.html?mwrsm=Email](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/26/fashion/an-ode-to-shopping-malls.html?mwrsm=Email), accessed on 10 March 2018.

2 For instance: Richard Peck, *Secrets of the Shopping Mall* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1979).

3 According to William Severini Kowinski, Bruce Springsteen has a verse about mall shopping in one of his songs. Source: William Severini Kowinski, *The Malling of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1985), 21.

4 Examples include: 'The Blues Brothers' (1980), 'Fast Times at Ridgemont High' (1982) and 'True Stories' (1986); 'Phantom of the Mall' (1989).

just outside of Minneapolis. Developed by Dayton Company and designed by Victor Gruen & Associates,<sup>5</sup> Southdale perfected the regional shopping centre model that developers and their architects had been experimenting with for several years.<sup>6</sup> Like its predecessors, Southdale was a low-lying island of stores surrounded by acres of open parking lots. However, contrary to its forerunners, it was fully enclosed and climate-controlled, making shopping more comfortable still, all year round.<sup>7</sup>

The seedling of Southdale's winning concept can be found in a 1943 article that architect Victor Gruen co-authored with his (then) wife Elsie Krummeck for *Architectural Forum*: 'What is wrong with the present neighbourhood shopping center', the pair asked, quickly offering up the response: 'Stores are lined up on both sides of the street in an otherwise quiet residential section. Shoppers have to cross the street. Parking space is inadequate [and] there is no protection during rainy weather.'<sup>8</sup> Southdale addressed all these 'hazards' and its success prompted developers to follow its lead, rapidly making the climate-controlled, enclosed shopping centre the most prevalent type of commercial space in the country.<sup>9</sup>

By 1965 well over 8,000 shopping centres were operational in the United States and accounted for 35 per cent of retail sales in the country.<sup>10</sup> By 1974 the number of shopping centres had nearly doubled (to 15,000), but their overall share of the nation's retail sales had only risen by 9 per cent.<sup>11</sup> And yet, the number of shopping centres in the US continued to increase. Between 1956 and 2006, at least one new enclosed mall was built in the country every year.<sup>12</sup> However, in 2007, for the very first time in fifty years no new enclosed mall opened in the US – a blot on the golden anniversary of America's love affair with the fully enclosed regional shopping centre. What's more, over the following two years, as a result of the global financial crisis, 400 of America's 2,000 largest malls closed.<sup>13</sup>

5 M. Jeffrey Hardwick, *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

6 Rem Koolhaas et al. pinpoint Northgate Shopping Mall in Seattle (US), which was designed by John Graham Jr. and opened in 1950, as the first regional shopping centre in the US. Chuihua Judy Chung, Jeffrey Inaba, Rem Koolhaas, Sze Tsung Leong, *Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping* (Koln: Taschen GmbH, 2001).

7 B. Frieden & L. Sagalyn, *Downtown Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 65.

8 Gruenbaum & Krummeck, 'Shopping Center', *Architectural Forum* (May 1943): 101.

9 Frieden & Sagalyn, *Downtown Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities*, 65.

10 Colin S. Jones, *Regional Shopping Centres: Their Location, Planning and Design* (London: Business Books Limited, 1969), 8.

11 Frieden & Sagalyn, *Downtown Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities*, 69.

12 Natasha Geiling, 'The Death and Rebirth of the American Mall', *Smithsonian*, 25 November 2014, [www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/death-and-rebirth-american-mall-180953444/](http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/death-and-rebirth-american-mall-180953444/), accessed on 26 May 2018.

13 Geiling, 'The Death and Rebirth of the American Mall'.

### Critique

While the American shopping centre's economic reign began to crumble at the start of the new millennium, its reputation had already come under fire from the late twentieth century on. As neoliberalism tightened its stranglehold on society and private interests increasingly dominated public space, some writers took aim at the shopping centre. Shortly after Kowinski colourfully described the spreading 'mallaise' in *The Malling of America*, one of the symptoms of which he called 'Plastiphobia' – the fear of being enclosed in a cocoon of blandness<sup>14</sup> – Professor of Geography Dennis Lord posited that the shopping centre concept had introduced 'a striking sameness' across the country in design terms.<sup>15</sup>

In 1992 French anthropologist Marc Augé unambiguously labelled the shopping centre a 'non-place' in *Non-Lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, positing that this building type is incapable of producing a singular identity, only similitude and solitude.<sup>16</sup> Apart from denouncing shopping centres' homogeneity, Augé's treatise also fuelled another strand of critique levelled against the shopping centre, which targeted its (assumed) incapacity to foster meaningful social relations. He wrote: 'As anthropological places create the organically social, so non-places create solitary contractuality.'<sup>17</sup>

In *The Malling of America*, Kowinski made a similar observation: 'Malls are great for eye/hand-on-credit-card coordination', he wrote, and continued:

The way it's done is with a combination of peacefulness and stimulation. The environment bathes you in sweet neutrality with soft light, candied music, and all the amenities that reassure and please without grabbing too much individual attention. At the same time, the stores and products dance for you with friendly smiles and colourful costumes. The sheer number of products and experiences you pay for and their apparent variety are in themselves factors that excite and focus.<sup>18</sup>

A few pages on Kowinski describes the effect that this environment of 'sweet neutrality' has on those who dwell in shopping centres – both employees

14 Kowinski, *The Malling of America*, 338–339.

15 J. Dennis Lord, 'The Malling of the American Landscape', in John A. Dawson & J. Dennis Lord (eds.), *Shopping Centre Development: Policies and Prospects* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 209–225.

16 Marc Augé, *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, translation (London: J. Howe, 1995), 93–94.

17 Augé, *Non-places*, 94.

18 Kowinski, *The Malling of America*, 340.



and customers – whom Kowinski emphatically labelled ‘Prisoners of the Mall’:

Mall workers complain a lot about their customers, just as customers do about them, and it may be that the environment has something to do with the surliness of both sides. Shoppers who can’t stand the banality of the mall’s décor, and who are alienated by alarmingly chirpy or impersonally glazed clerks whose artificial patter is accompanied by apathetic ignorance of their inventory, might consider what it is like to work long hours bombarded by fluorescence and flummoxed by Muzak, and all the while inundated by a steady stream of zombie shoppers.<sup>19</sup>

Seven years after Kowinski painted this bleak picture of life (or the absence thereof) in the American shopping centre, urban theorist Mike Davis reaffirmed the type’s proclivity for captivity, dubbing it a ‘prison of consumerism’.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, architectural historian Margaret Crawford also weighed in on the shopping centre debate, and presented an apocalyptic vision in which the shopping centre had taken over the world. Both Davis and Crawford’s assertions were made in chapters that they contributed to Michael Sorkin’s *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, and thus implicated the shopping centre in the demise of American social life.<sup>21</sup>

The few dissident voices who maintained that intellectuals wrote negatively about shopping centres and overlooked the important community function that they performed because ‘they failed to understand suburbia and the people who liked living there’<sup>22</sup>, were quickly shouted down by an army of sceptics who suggested that claims that malls provided a place for community were fabricated by developers as an ideological cover for the mall’s only real purpose: to turn a profit.<sup>23</sup>

### *The West and the rest*

The story sketched above is by now well known. In *Shopping, Place and Identity*, which was first published in 1998, Daniel Miller and others point out that between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s an accepted natural

19 Kowinski, *The Mall of America*, 345–346.

20 Mike Davis, ‘Fortress Los Angeles: The Militarization of Urban Space’, in Michael Sorkin (ed.), *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1992), 154.

21 Margaret Crawford, ‘The World Inside a Shopping Mall’, in Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park*, 3–30.

22 Frieden & Sagalyn, *Downtown Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities*, 72–73.

23 Rodrigo Salcedo, ‘When the Global Meets the Local at the Mall’, *The American Behavioral Scientist* 46, 8 (April 2003): 1088.

history of consumption took shape, which describes an arc from the Parisian arcades and department stores to the American shopping mall.<sup>24</sup> Shared between Europe and the US, this history of twentieth century consumer spaces was thus firmly grounded in the western world, and for many years, decades even, shopping centre studies focused by and large on America.<sup>25</sup>

And yet, already from the mid-twentieth century, the American-born shopping centre concept ventured into many countries beyond the US. Not only into Europe,<sup>26</sup> but also into other regions, such as Africa, the Far East, South America, the (former) Soviet Union ...<sup>27</sup> In fact, after it first emerged in the land of opportunity, the shopping centre rapidly found its way into many nations and places that already had particular retail types and consumer practices in place.<sup>28</sup> While these, along with the political, social, economic and planning contexts in which the shopping centre was introduced, likely affected its shape and form, the belief persists that the shopping centre negotiated these encounters without losing its prime characteristics. As urban scholar Rodrigo Salcedo wrote in 2003:

Despite their differences, scholars who have written about malls have treated them as if they are essentially the same: enclosed spaces characterized by comprehensive surveillance, security and social segregation ... Despite the fact that all the literature focuses on malls in the United States and Canada, their [shopping malls'] characteristics are treated as if they were universal. ... In their search for global influences,

- 24 Daniel Miller et al., *Shopping, Place and Identity* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 3. In 1984, Meredith Clausen authored one of the key pieces of scholarship on the history of the department store: Meredith Clausen, 'The Department Store: Development of the Type', *Journal of Architectural Education* 39, 1 (1984): 20–29.
- 25 See, for instance: Richard Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920–1950* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); Richard Longstreth, *The Drive-In, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914–1941* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); David Smiley, *Pedestrian Modern: Shopping and American Architecture, 1925–1956* (Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Crawford, 'The World Inside a Shopping Mall'.
- 26 The introduction of the American-born shopping centre concept into Europe is documented in: Janina Gosseye and Tom Avermaete (eds.), *Shopping Towns Europe 1945–1975: Commercial Collectivity and the Architecture of the Shopping Centre* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).
- 27 Kowinski, *The Mall of America*, 23.
- 28 In their introduction to *Retailing Environments in Developing Countries*, the editors, for instance, state that 'the apparent chaos of the urban market-place in less-developed countries is more apparent than real ... Enough is known about the Indian bazaar or the suqs [sic] of the Arab city, for examples, to show that, in spatial terms, the patterning of establishments is ordered by a mix of customary practices and market-based logic ...'. See: Ronan Paddison, Allan M. Findlay and John Dawson, 'Retailing in Less-Developed Countries: An Introduction', in Allan M. Findlay, Ronan Paddison and John A. Dawson (eds.), *Retailing Environments in Developing Countries* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 3.

postmodern scholars have emphasized structural similarities of malls while deemphasizing locality and human agency.<sup>29</sup>

The question then emerges: Is it correct to qualify the shopping centre as a global architectural type that immutably moved across national and cultural borders, or can geographically and temporally bound expression of negotiations between shopping centre developers (representatives of a global logic of capitalist accumulation) and local actors (such as architects, governments and citizens) be found? In short: Did Kowinski's 'mallaise' become a global epidemic, or were regional remedies concocted?

To respond to this question, this book presents a range of case studies from across the globe, from Latin America to Africa and the Middle East, and beyond: to Asia and Australia. These case studies cover several decades – from the mid-twentieth century to today – and, broadly speaking, follow two lines of enquiry. First, they investigate if formal and conceptual variations emerged as the enclosed 'dumbbell mall' ventured into regions with different political, economic, and planning backgrounds. Secondly, they examine if modern (Western) shopping centre practices were adapted (or perhaps persisted?) as the shopping centre encountered differing consumer cultures, customs and mores.

## Adapting planning and form

### *An intermodal/urban model*

Until very recently, one of the largest retail property groups worldwide was Westfield.<sup>30</sup> Originally founded in 1960 by Frank Lowy and John Saunders, two Hungarian immigrants to Australia, Westfield's success relied on the company's adaptation of the American-born shopping centre type. In the late 1950s, when the pair undertook the development of their first shopping centre in the Sydney suburb of Blacktown, they keenly followed American developments in available retail literature, and Saunders also travelled to the US to obtain knowledge of precedents first hand. And yet, Scott Colman argues in his chapter 'Westfield's architecture, from the Antipodes to London', the result was not a run-of-the-mill enclosed suburban shopping mall, but a new commercial type that while (initially) American in its architectural styling, was hybrid in its urban strategy. Westfield Plaza, Colman explains, like the company's subsequent shopping centres was 'neither an

29 Salcedo, 'When the Global Meets the Local at the Mall', 1084.

30 In June 2014 Westfield Group separated its Australian and New Zealand businesses from its international operations: Scentre Group now owns and operates the Australian and New Zealand Westfield shopping centre portfolio; and, until recently, Westfield Corporation owned and operated the American and European centre portfolio. On 12 December 2017 the corporation accepted a takeover offer from Unibail-Rodamco.